

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7904

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 14601

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING: PERSONAL
ASSESSMENT BY AMBASSADOR

REF: STATE 199122

1. IN ASSESSING CURRENT US-FRG RELATIONS, I AM STRUCK BY THE PAUCITY OF ACUTE BILATERAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN US. OUR POLITICAL AND TO A LARGE EXTENT ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD TEND TOWARD A CERTAIN CONGRUITY. WITH ONLY A FEW EXCEPTIONS, THE ISSUES ARISE ESSENTIALLY IN MULTIMATERIAL CONTEXTS, SUCH AS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, WHERE THE FRG SOMETIMES FINDS IT NECESSARY TO DEFEND PREVIOUSLY AGREED EUROPEAN POSITIONS. EVEN WITHIN MULTIMATERIAL ORGANIZATIONS OR NEGOTIATIONS, HOWEVER, WE CAN GENERALLY COUNT ON THE FRG TO ARGUE IN A DIRECTION CONSONANT WITH OUR VIEWS. A BASIC FACT OF LIFE IS THE CONTINUING RECOGNITION BY THE PRESENT GERMAN GOVERNMENT, AND ITS CDU/CSU OPPOSITION, THAT THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY LIES ULTIMATELY IN OUR HANDS AND THAT WE BOTH HAVE A STRONG INTEREST IN STABILITY IN EUROPE BASED ON A VIABLE ALLIANCE.

2. LOOKING AHEAD, HOWEVER, I CAN SEE SOME POTENTIAL FOR TROUBLE. THERE IS A FEELING OF GENERAL INDETERMINACY INHERENT IN A TRANSITIONAL ERA LIKE THE PRESENT, ACCEN-

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TUATED BY A WANING OF CONFIDENCE IN THE ULTIMATE RESOLVE

OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONTINUE PLAYING A MAJOR POLITICAL ROLE IN EUROPE. THE COMBINATION OF IMPROVING US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND REPORTS OF GROWING CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION TO STATIONING OF TROOPS ABROAD HAS RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR ORDER OF PRIORITIES MAY NOT HAVE CHANGED. MOREOVER, A NEW GENERATION OF GERMANS COMING TO THE FORE WITH NO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF NAZISM, WORLD WAR II OR THE POST-WAR PERIOD HAS BEGUN TO QUESTION THE OLD VERITIES.

3. BE THAT AS IT MAY, THE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC ON WHICH WE HAVE COME TO RELY IN THE CONTEXT OF US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS, WILL CONTINUE TO BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US. IN THE CURRENT YEAR OF EUROPE, THE ATTITUDE OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT IS A MAJOR POSITIVE FACTOR. IN THE ECONOMIC AREA, OUR PROBLEM IS USUALLY NOT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE GERMAN POSITION BUT INSTEAD FREQUENT GERMAN RELUCTANCE TO PRESS ADVOCACY TO THE POINT THAT THIS MIGHT BURDEN AN INCREASINGLY STRAINED - BUT STILL VITAL - SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH FRANCE.

4. THIS FALL, GERMAN WILLINGNESS TO BE AGGRESSIVE IN OUR BEHALF ON ISSUES IN THE EC'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS WILL BE FURTHER CONSTRAINED BY A NEED TO FIGHT A REARGUARD ACTION ON A SERIES OF EC INTERNAL ISSUES: ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EXPANDED REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUND, REVIEW OF THE CAP AND PROGRESS TOWARD ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION. IN EACH CASE, THE OTHER MAJOR EC COUNTRIES WILL BE PRESSING FOR EXPENSIVE SOLUTIONS THAT UNLOAD THE MAJOR COST ON BONN. THE FRG IS INCREASINGLY UNWILLING TO PAY THIS PRICE, BUT DOMESTICALLY THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT IS CAUGHT BETWEEN GROWING CRITICISM OF THE BUDGET COST OF EC PROGRAMS AND THE POLITICAL NECESSITY TO SHOW PROGRESS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN ORDER TO BLUNT CHARGES OF A DRAFT TOWARD NEUTRALISM.

5. ONE OF OUR FEW PRESSING BILATERAL PROBLEMS WITH THE FRG IS THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE AN OFFSET AGREEMENT FOR THE FY 74 AND 75 PERIOD. OUR POSITIONS ARE STILL FAR
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APART, BUT THE FRG CAN AND WILL IMPROVE ITS INITIAL OFFER; IT IS IMPELLED BY SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS TO DO SO IN AN EFFORT TO KEEP THE NUMBER OF US TROOPS IN GERMANY AS NEAR AS POSSIBLE TO CURRENT LEVELS. HOW-

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7905

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BONN 14601

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL FROM THE AMBASSADOR

EVER, THE FRG IS UNDER STRONG PRESSURES FOR ALTERNATE USES OF BUDGET FUNDS AND ARGUES IT HAS ALREADY MADE A VERY SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE US BOP BY PURCHASES OF DOLLARS ON WHICH IT CLAIMS TO HAVE LOST DM 20 BILLION VIA DOLLAR DEPRECIATION THUS FAR IN 1973.

6. IN THE MULTILATERAL BURDEN SHARING CONTEXT, I AM PESSIMISTIC ABOUT MOVING THE GERMANS VERY FAR. THEY ARE INCREASINGLY COMING TO FEEL, SOMEWHAT SOURLY, THAT THEY ALONE ARE TO BE SADDLED WITH THE BOP AND INCREMENTAL BUDGET COSTS STEMMING FROM OUR TROOP PRESENCE IN EUROPE.

7. IN THE ENERGY FIELD -- A POSSIBLE TROUBLE AREA -- SOME OF OUR STATEMENTS HAVE LED THE GERMANS TO LOOK IN VAIN FOR A U.S. INITIATIVE ON COORDINATION OF RELATIONS WITH PETROLEUM PRODUCERS, BUT THIS HAS NOT PREVENTED THE GERMANS FROM PROCEEDING WITH THEIR OWN BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH PRODUCERS, INCLUDING A PROSPECTIVE MAMMOTH DEAL WITH IRAN.

8. ALTHOUGH THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT IS GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH OUR POSTURE ON ITS EASTERN POLICY, IT HAS LEARNED THAT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON BERLIN DID NOT SOLVE ALL OF THE CITY'S PROBLEMS. THE GERMANS CONTINUE TO RUN INTO DIFFICULTIES WITH THE SOVIETS AND EE'S IN THE AREAS OF FOREIGN REPRESENTATION AND FRG-WEST BERLIN TIES. THEY WILL LOOK TO US FOR SUPPORT,

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MOSTLY MORAL, BUT OCCASIONALLY MORE SUBSTANTIVE, WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. HOW MUCH SUCH SUPPORT WE WILL WANT TO GIVE THEM WILL BE A CONTINUING QUESTION, BUT WE WILL NOT WISH TO LEAVE BERLIN MATTERS TO THE FRG TO WORK OUT WITH THE SOVIETS.

9. FINALLY, A NOTE ABOUT THE CHANGING ATMOSPHERE OF THE US-FRG RELATIONSHIP. THE GERMANS ARE MORE SELF-CONFIDENT NOW THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE 1945, PERHAPS EVEN A LITTLE NATIONALISTIC. THEY ARE MORE ACTIVE AND ASSERTIVE IN THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION MOVEMENT AND ARE ASSUMING A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN EUROPE UNTHINKABLE TEN YEARS BEFORE. THE MASSIVE FLIGHT TO THE D-MARK IN THESE LAST YEARS AND THE GENERAL EVIDENCE OF ECONOMIC POWER HAS BEEN PRETTY HEADY STUFF. WITH THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAS COME A DISTINCT CHANGE IN THE SENIOR-JUNIOR RELATIONSHIP THAT FORMERLY CHARACTERIZED OUR RELATIONS. WE MUST NOW PERSUADE WHERE WE ONCE DEMANDED, DEALING WITH THE FRG AS A FULL AND SOVEREIGN ALLY AND AS A POWERFUL FRIEND WHOSE INTERESTS ARE BASICALLY VERY CLOSE TO OUR OWN. HILLENBRAND

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